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and son, form a gardening group who coöperate to raise vegetables. The coöperative work group is composed of a man who needs help in performing some major task, such as clearing a garden site or building a house, and those of his relatives who are willing to help him in return for the feast which he and his wife must provide for them. A larger cooperative work group consisting of men from all the hamlets of the subtribe, builds a house tamberan; and the men and women of the hamlet that is benefited provide the feast. The women of a hamlet unite in informal groups to carry on what little fishing is done.

The trading group meets on appointed days once or twice a week. It is composed of women from one or more hamlets in the sib who bring sacks of sago flour, their male relatives who go to protect them and to gossip, and men and women from the river tribes who bring fish.

Warfare, too, is carried out by a definitely constituted group. The raiding party consists of adolescent and adult males from one or more subtribes who unite for a head-hunting expedition. The whole subtribe, including women and children, is mobilized to greet the returning warriors and celebrate a victory dance and hold a feast.

Kwoma culture specifies who shall perform the necessary legal functions of the tribe. The final authority in disputes between members of different hamlets in the subtribe is a court held at a neutral house tamberan and attended by adolescent and adult males from the whole subtribe. Disputes between subtribes are settled by a court of the men of both tribes meeting on neutral territory. In none of these courts are there legal specialists; each man's opinion is valued in accordance with his prestige in the community.

Religious activities are performed by the yam cult. This cult is divided into three sections: *Yenama*, *Minjama*, and *Nokwi*. Every Kwoma boy in the subtribe is elected during adolescence to either *Yenama* or *Minjama*; young men of promise are inducted into both sections. *Nokwi*, the highest stage of the cult, receives only men who are of high prestige and who have taken a head.

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224 602 own hunger directly. Indirectly the amount of pork that is available to him does depend on his hunting activities, for if he never supplies his relatives with pork they tend to utilize the pigs which they kill for ceremonial purposes rather than for distribution among relatives. On the other hand, a man receives his share of pork at ceremonies even though he has never killed a pig himself. Furthermore his negligence in supplying a *brother*, for example, with pork does not mean that this *brother* will not be motivated to distribute a kill to other relatives, in which distribution the man who has never killed a pig automatically gets his share. A man may, therefore, have pork to eat all his life and yet never kill a pig; indeed, this is true of a number of Kwoma men.

224 626 Since a man's desire for pork is relevant but not crucial in influencing him to learn to hunt pigs, and since it is an occupation in which men are frequently seriously injured[1] and sometimes killed, other reasons must be sought to explain why so many men do learn the techniques of hunting. One of these motives is that of avoiding the criticism of his friends and relatives, a factor which operates in the following way. If a man does not learn to hunt, but develops some other technical specialty such as wood carving, toolmaking, ceremonial gong beating, dancing, or song leading, then he will not be criticized for not developing the art of pig hunting. If, however, he does not so compensate for this lack, social criticism will be leveled against him. He will be called lazy and scolded by his wife and the other members of the hamlet for not doing his share of productive work.

224 [476] [461] [692] There are positive gains which motivate a man to learn to hunt. If he uses the pork as the chief food of a work bee, his hunting activity is rewarded by getting his work accomplished more quickly, for more people are likely to answer his call for help if they know there will be pork. If he uses it to provide a feast for a sorcery court and his relative recov-

[1] During my stay at Kwoma, two men were seriously injured. One of them had his leg badly lacerated and escaped death by climbing a tree; the other's hand was badly chewed and he was saved by another hunter who happened to be in the vicinity.

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ers, he feels that his hunting has not been in vain. If he uses the pig as part payment of the bride-price, hunting helps to put an end to the snooping, interference, and threats of his relatives-in-law. If he trades the pig with the river people, his reward is in shell money. If the pig is used for a funeral feast, he may thereafter eat the food which he has denied himself ever since the death of his relative many months before. If he contributes the pig to a cult or good-will feast, he is rewarded by a gain in prestige. More particularly, he will command greater respect at court meetings, he will have more supporters to come to his aid on the event of a sorcery charge being leveled against him, and his relatives will be less apt to have important work of their own to do when he announces a work bee. Indeed a good pig hunter is a *harafa ma malaka*. All these factors combine to force a Kwoma man to learn to hunt pigs despite the danger and effort involved.

Although pigs are the most-prized game, Kwoma hunters kill other animals as well. Cassowaries come next in importance both in giving prestige to the hunter and in providing food. These large birds are hunted by dogs in the same way as wild pigs, and are likewise dispatched by a spear. Bait-and-blind hunting is not employed, but a hen is sometimes speared while she is on her nest. All smaller birds are killed by means of bow and bird dart. Since most of the wild fowl perch at the top of the jungle trees some sixty to eighty feet from the ground—a very difficult shot even with a rifle—this form of hunting is not highly developed. A native will attempt a shot only when he is within a few feet of the game, when birds alight on the shrubbery near the house. Bow and bird dart are also employed in the hunting of gouria pigeons. These large birds often feed on the windfall under wild fruit trees. A native hunter sometimes makes a blind under such a tree and shoots the pigeons if they are attracted by the fallen fruit.

Men spend little time hunting small game, leaving such activities to children. They sometimes kill rats, snakes, and lizards. The usual method is simply to beat them with any handy stick. Some of the smaller lizards are caught and

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whole, but at most the subtribe and usually only the hamlet whose territory is under dispute. 423 619 [648]

If a dispute involving a considerable amount of sago swamp or gardening land arises between the members of two subtribes, all the adult men of each subtribe may eventually become involved. Such a dispute normally arises when someone extracts sago flour or plants a garden near or beyond the territorial boundary of his subtribe. Those of the other subtribe who control the land contiguous to the boundary normally claim trespass, destroy any tools which they may find, seize the produce, and even threaten personal harm. Unless the affair is settled quickly by the withdrawal of one or other of the parties concerned, each may call relatives to his support until the dispute finally becomes the concern of both subtribes. When such a situation arises, the disputed land is [692] normally left unused by both parties until the affair has been settled by an intertribal court meeting.[14]

A man has certain duties with respect to the defense of all 423 lands claimed by the members of his hamlet. These duties 621 apply only when the transgressor of property rights is a 692 member of some other hamlet. Again minor disputes may be 578 settled by the parties concerned, but, if they are not, they [602] are settled by a meeting of the domestic court which a man must attend in order to defend his *brothers*. In a similar way [613] property disputes between members of different lineages in the same hamlet and between families in the same lineage are finally settled by a court meeting attended by the men of the largest group involved.

The rights and duties with respect to land are thus determined by a man's membership in the various groups described above. Since membership in family line, lineage, and hamlet follows patrilineal descent, inheritance may likewise be considered as patrilineal. The Kwoma do not, however, distinguish inheritance of land from descent. Hence the rules which determine to what family line, lineage, and hamlet a 423 611 428

[14] An intertribal court meeting will be described below with reference to payment of wergild after head-hunting raids. [128]

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from the house when the entire family leaves it to go to the garden, the sago spathe door to the inner room of the dwelling is closed and barred in a particular manner so that the head of the house will know if anyone tampers with it. To prevent persons from pilfering his garden, a man casts a magical spell so that anyone who enters the garden will break out in boils.

If the owner of property catches a thief in the act of stealing, he may attack him physically or may threaten to do so. If, however, the owner notices that some of his property has been stolen or disturbed, but is not sure of the identity of the culprit, he may publicly accuse the person whom he suspects, stating his reasons for suspicion and threatening aggressive action unless adjustment is made. If the evidence is so clear that the accused cannot deny the charge, he will normally pay the accuser damages in order to maintain "safe" relations. If, however, the accused is not guilty or if the case is not clear, the matter will be settled by a court meeting.[16] A court meeting may also be called to discover the identity of the culprit if the thief or trespasser is unknown.

A few examples of theft and trespass will illustrate this formal structure. Yat, a young man of Hayamakwo sib and Rumbima hamlet, built a pig blind on the edge of one of his sago patches. He visited it one day and found that it had been destroyed, and that a taboo fence[17] had been erected across his path to the blind. He suspected Dowar, also a Hayamakwo but a member of Sumwe Sumwe hamlet,[18] who owned the property next to his. On returning home he told his wives about the matter and went to the Rumbima house tamberan that evening to announce his anger. Those present agreed with his suspicions, and the evening was spent discussing the evil ways of the people of Sumwe Sumwe. The

[16] The procedure at a court meeting for property disputes is identical to that at the sorcery court described below.

[17] A taboo fence consists of the branch of a tree or a sago frond placed across a path. The implication of such a fence is that "anyone who goes down this path does so at his own risk and in the face of my threat."

[18] The Sumwe Sumwe split off from the Rumbima several years before as a result of a quarrel.

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sonal agents. This belief gives the Kwoma something to do when sickness occurs: they can attack the sorcerer and prevent him from continuing his operations. If a person believes that he has stopped the sorcery, his fear of continued illness or death is reduced; and since the Kwoma have developed no "realistic" modes of curing these diseases, the belief in sorcery is psychologically adaptive.

Whenever it is believed that a person is suffering from the results of sorcery, the men of his hamlet immediately launch an anti-sorcery campaign. The first step is to make an announcement on the house tamberan gongs, "So-and-so, our relative, is sick from sorcery. Anyone who is guilty of sorcerizing this person must answer for it. If anyone is sorcerizing an unknown person, stop at once. It may be our relative." After this command is issued, all the men of the subtribe, if they wish to be free of suspicion, visit the house of the sick person, pay their respects, and drink water. Since a sorcerer cannot work his evil magic if he drinks water during the process, this is taken as proof of innocence. If the sick person is a close relative of a man of high prestige, there will be many visitors, but if he is not there will be few. If the sick man does not show signs of recovery, some of his relatives will visit around the subtribe, going to the houses of those whom they suspect of sorcery and asking them to drink. The relatives may resort to another expedient in the anti-sorcery campaign by calling a "sorcery court," in which an attempt is made to discover the guilty person.[30]

The Kwoma are in a constant state of anxiety about sorcery. Hardly a week passed during the seven months of my stay at Kwoma that the command to stop all sorcery did not boom out from the gongs of one or another of the house tamberans. Whenever the sorcery message was spelled out, everyone would stop what they were doing, listen intently, shake their heads seriously, and make some such statement as: "Somebody is sorcerizing Sowinambi's wife. What is the matter with people anyway? Why do they have to go about

[30] The procedure at the sorcery court is described below.

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scalp. Most of the spectators formed a neutral group between Kwal and Daw. When they had discovered what had happened, they began to discuss the merits of the case and were divided in their opinion as to which brother was right. Since Kwal and Daw were real brothers, the only persons who could take sides, being more nearly related to one principal than to the other, were their wives and children. The children were not grown up, and their reaction was one of fear, but the respective wives stood, eyes blazing, with digging sticks in hand ready to join in the fray. When I asked the spectators their opinion of the affair, they said that after all it was Kwal's and Daw's business to fight if they wanted to, but that they were stupid to injure one another since brothers should stand together against trouble from an outsider rather than quarrel among themselves. This opinion represents the communal sanction which is imposed on fighting between brothers. As can be seen, the direct social control of fraternal aggression is minimal. From this it might be expected that fights between brothers would occur frequently. This case, however, was the only one in which brothers actually came to blows during a period of seven months. This indicates that the disadvantages of in-group aggression and the advantages of fraternal coöperation have been well learned during the socialization process.

When a fight occurs between *brothers* who are not closely related by blood, their relatives rally in support of them. If the dispute is not serious, it usually ceases after an exchange of invective. If the affair cannot be settled in this way, members of the hamlet who are not emotionally involved try to discover the blame and suggest a settlement. The discussion usually takes place by shouting from house to house, but sometimes the men will gather at the house tamberan and hold court. If even these measures fail to settle the dispute, a permanent rift may result, and the minority group may withdraw from the hamlet.

The division of a hamlet as a result of a dispute between its members is not uncommon in Kwoma society. Such a split had occurred in the not-too-distant past in each of the three

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609 578 [56] [123] you know enough to keep non-relatives out of your house? No one is going to keep these people from stealing from you if you are afraid to protect your own rights."

Although a man must be aggressive when he is threatened by a non-relative, he must not be disproportionately so. In general, the amount of aggression he may show is determined [685] by the kind and amount of threat that he has endured. If he catches a non-relative in the act of stealing or trespassing, he may beat him on the spot or threaten him with a spear, but may not kill him. If he discovers the crime after it is done, he may threaten physical violence unless reparations are [692] made. If the thief or trespasser refuses to comply with these demands, a court session is held in which the principals meet with their relatives and discuss the matter until an equitable [683] settlement is made. If a man detects a non-relative stealing [684] sorcery material, or raping a wife or sister, he may kill him on the spot. If he discovers that a non-relative is having an affair with his wife or sister, he may threaten or beat him but may not kill him. Following this he may retaliate by seducing [626] a sister or wife of the man whom he has discovered. If a man suspects a non-relative of sorcery, he may openly accuse him and turn public opinion against him in order to make him stop. If it is well established that a non-relative has been guilty of sorcery, the victim or his relative is not condemned for retaliating in kind.

609 578 626 A man is inhibited from being disproportionately aggressive toward a non-relative by a complex of sanctions. In any controversy between two unrelated members of the tribe, three groups appear: the relatives of the aggressor, the relatives of the victim, and those who are related to neither. If the behavior of the aggressor is deemed appropriate, he will be supported in his action by his own relatives and by the group related to neither principal. Furthermore, although his relatives will support the victim and will verbally threaten and insult the aggressor and his relatives, they will take no physical step toward counteraggression. Then, too, there are always persons among the relatives of the victim who are related to someone in the aggressor group, and who therefore

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do not wish the controversy to continue to such a point that they will be forced to break these relationships. These persons, if the aggression has adhered to custom, will point out that the victim received what he deserved and will suggest that the matter be closed. If the aggressor demands compensation, it is these persons who bring pressure to bear upon the victim to pay it. If, however, the aggressor's behavior has been disproportionate, if his reaction to some minor threat imposed by a non-relative has exceeded the bounds of custom, then the situation is reversed. Public opinion swings in favor of the victim. If the aggressor has been exceedingly disproportionate in his aggression, his own relatives may even withdraw their support from him, and he is then forced to leave the tribe to escape retaliation from the victim and his relatives.

The Kwoma court system provides a formalized mode of settling disputes between non-relatives.[47] The court may meet to settle any disagreement, whether it be over property, sex, or sorcery. Only adult males attend the meetings, which are held at a house tamberan, usually a neutral one. The men convene in the morning carrying spears and wearing bone daggers. When everyone has arrived, the most important man of the hamlet in which the meeting is being held stands and states the purpose of the meeting and his view of the case. When he has finished speaking, someone else will stand and state his opinion. Then another presents his views. Thus the meeting progresses. A man's speech usually starts with an exoneration of himself and his relatives and ends with an accusation of someone else. While making a speech a man stamps his feet on the ground, brandishes a spear or dagger, and speaks loudly, often raising his voice to a shout. Sometimes, when someone has made a particularly pointed accusation, the accused will rise and stand facing his accuser. Each may draw his dagger, stand close to his opponent, reach over the other's shoulder and make jabbing movements at his back, shouting insults and threats. It is particularly im-

[47] Disputes which only concern relatives are settled at similar but less formal meetings at the local house tamberan.

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cumstances this is the case, but a dispute over property, the abduction or rape of a woman, or a head-hunting murder may break off these safe relations. Visiting then takes place only at the risk of one's life, until the matter can be settled. Finally a foreigner may sometimes steal, trespass, or encroach upon Kwoma land.

Safe relations with another tribe are reëstablished after a dispute by means of an intertribal court. After the heat of a dispute has cooled,[49] the adult males of the two tribes arrange by gongs to meet at an appointed place on neutral territory. They all carry daggers and spears to be prepared for treachery and to give force to their arguments. The two groups face one another, and a spokesman advances from each in turn to present the case of his tribe. Each spokesman accentuates his speech by slapping a flat board on the ground. Often the two representatives stand close to each other, chests out and eyes flashing, and jab bone daggers over one another's shoulder. Just as in the intratribal court, it is important not to flinch, so only the most courageous of the tribesmen act as spokesmen. Such courts are most commonly held to settle territorial disputes, to arrange the payment of a bride-price for an abducted girl, or to decide on a wergild for a head-hunting murder.

Open warfare between New Guinea tribes is infrequent, and the Kwoma are no exception. A war was waged in the time of the grandfathers of living informants. It began with a territorial dispute with the people who inhabited part of the area that the Kwoma now occupy. After a prolonged series of raids and counterraids, the Kwoma exterminated all but a small remnant of the enemy, who fled to another location. During the war, the Kwoma captured the leader of the enemy. They dragged him to one of their house tamberans and trussed him to the center pole. Then they held a dance around him, jabbed spears into him, spat at him, and otherwise tortured him. Finally they killed him, cut him up like a

[49] Informants said that it was of no advantage to hold a court when "bellies were hot with anger," as it would probably end in a fight.

123 peered in. When they saw the carved figures, they exclaimed excitedly
[532] and pulled them out and examined them. The women sat down near us and
[562] watched avidly. Kar ignored this, and they seemed to think it natural to
[561] look at them although I have been told time and again that I mustn't let the women or children see them or they will die. I asked Kar if one of the figures belonged to Yenama or Minjama, and he said he could not tell me with the children present but instead carried on an euphemistic conversation with me about them. They stayed until after supper talking to me. Kar has not seen Kum yet, and the poison business is not cleared up, but he
[224] had evidently cooled quite a bit. Kar said that Kum had killed two bush
439 pigs and sold them at Malu, getting a lot of p[illegible] Kar had made a blind to
[685] shoot a pig, and the Malu's had broken it and collected sago from his
[692] ground. He says he is going to make court about it but treated the matter rather calmly. The same trouble had come up several years before; there had been a court and he had won. Now as soon as he has finished tying up his yams, he is going to Yambon to arrange for the court.

124 I talked to Marur after supper about his experiences while working
648 with the white men. I said the "drink house" at Kayandi would reach from
464 Rumbina house temberan to Sombundura--quite a "drink house"? Marur did not question me .

648 I repeated the story about Bob calling Kar "something nothing". Kar
464 said he could have persuaded all the recruits not to go if he had wanted to, but he was sorry for the Tug who did want to go. Each time he tells the story, he makes it so he came out with a little more credit. He seemed to have taken Bob's kidding as quite an insult. It was entirely unconscious on Bob's part. He had asked Kar if he wanted to go to work, and Kar had answered no, he had to look out for the place. Bob had laughed and said

578 been upset because War still thinks he is guilty. Kar says that he is fed
[123] up with the place here and will go with/when I go. He says he does not
feel like working.

527 Last night gongr announced a Yenama pig-eating feast (or that is what
262 they said). I went this morning. It developed that it was a court to
[754] discover who was sorcerizing Sowinambi's wife. When we arrived Mes and
[692] Sof were boiling the pig which Sowinambi had shot. Yesterday afternoon
[252] they had eaten the brains, kidneys, heart, liver, and belly. Now they
had cut the rest in big chunks, without removing the skin and hair, and
[415] were boiling it in two large pots. The pots were not large enough to hold
[262] it all, so the chunks were put in and taken out with bamboo tongs. When
the meat was done, bananas, spinach, and yams were put in the soup and
boiled. The bananas were greasy, and the outer skin was peeled off with
[123] the finger nail. I suggested a knife, but Sowinambi explained that the
soup was for the big men and must be done this way. Sowinambi said that he
[123] and Sof had to do all the work because they had no boys to help them. I
helped. Some of the others made remarks -- it was not quite right for me
to be doing it, but others said never mind; it was all right. The spinach
was torn up by hand and put in. The yams were peeled and cut in parts.

695 The men kept coming three or four at a time until there were about
754 fifty there. There were greetings and general talk until finally it seemed
that all who were coming had arrived, and Ngayemas (a big man of Afokalisa)
got up and began talking in a loud voice. "Sowinambi's wife had been
poisoned. Who has done it? I am Sowinambi's (kinship term) and I will fight
anyone who is doing it." He stood up and stamped his foot on the ground
[123] and held his hand over his head as if holding a spear. In the days before
the white men (probably now if I hadn't been there) they actually held a
spear.